THE TEXAS GERMAN OF LEE AND FAYETTE COUNTIES[1]

THE subject of this investigation is the German spoken in central Texas in the towns of Giddings and LaGrange and the many small communities between the two. This area, located in Lee and Fayette Counties about sixty miles east of Austin, was one of the focal points of German immigration in Texas in the nineteenth century. Indeed, the oldest German settlements in Texas (dating back to 1823)—Bastrop, Industry, Cat Spring, Shelby, and Frelsburg—are all located in this general area.[2] The region has always retained its German character, as even many place-names testify, e.g., Loebau, Weimar, Warda, Oldenburg, Manheim, etc. And many an English name, such as those mentioned above and Winchester, Northrup, Lexington, Lincoln, etc., cloaks an almost purely German community.

Of particular interest are the Wendish-Germans, who settled in and about the community of Serbin. The Wends (also called Sorbs) are a Slavic people who, by-passed by the German colonization of the east in the middle ages, form even to the present day the only appreciable non-Germanic block in Germany.[3] Many emigrated from Germany in the last century to preserve their Lutheran religion and their archaic Slavic mother tongue—Wendish. The 558 Wends who sailed for Texas in 1854 made up the largest group emigration of this people.[4] The Serbin community which they founded was to remain the only Wendish colony in the United States, and the only other such colonies in the world are in Australia. Many more Wends came to the Serbin area in the years to follow and a number of daughter communities (Fedor, Warda, etc.) were formed.

Although the Wends had left Germany to avoid the pressure of Germanization, they were happy to have German neighbors

in the strange new land. The old grudges were soon forgotten, although there were some disputes between those who preferred the Wendish language and those who preferred German. Marriages between Wendish and non-Wendish Germans became common. And thus Wendish began to be crowded out by German; indeed, every consideration was in favor of German: the superiority of numbers, the fact that German was the official language of the Missouri-Synod Lutheran Church, with which the Wends affiliated themselves, etc. And, after all, they all were Germans as well as Wends, they spoke German as well as Wendish, and it was only natural that they should ally themselves with their German surroundings. In Germany the Germans had seemed like foreigners, here they were brothers in a land much more foreign than Germany had been. In Germany there had been some 200,000 Wends, here there were only a few thousand. The Germanization which had been staved off for centuries in Germany was practically complete after some seventy years in Texas, for by 1920 only a minority still preferred to speak Wendish. After 1900 a new generation of Wendish children had grown up in an atmosphere so German that German became their real mother tongue. Now there are probably only a score or so of older people who still use Wendish actively.

The Germans and Wendish-Germans of this area are farmers, whose ties among themselves, based principally on religion and language, are strong, while contact with outsiders is avoided. They founded their own communities, the nucleus of which was a church and parochial school. The average person was brought into the world by a German mid-wife or doctor, went to a German school, in which all his playmates were German, and was confirmed, married, and buried in German—each testified to by the appropriate German *Schein* or *Stein*. The voters' meetings and other activities of the church were quite naturally also con-

ducted in German. The local German newspapers were the *Giddings Wendisch-Deutsches Volksblatt*, the *La Grange Deutsche Zeitung*, and others.[5]

The use of English began to gain the upper hand only about fifteen years ago. These fifteen years have been a rather rapid transitional period. Attendance at English church services is beginning to outnumber that at the German services, and English has become the official language of the voters' meetings and other types of public gatherings. The schools have gone so far as to drop even the German reading classes. Anyone who has had to learn German "the hard way" will understand what a rare birthright is thus being neglected. Interestingly enough, the Wendish-Germans, who came to America to preserve their Slavic mother tongue, are the last stronghold of the German language in this area. In Serbin, for instance, the voters' meetings are still held in German.

The German spoken in this area is not a dialect but a modified High German—consequently differing radically from Pennsylvania German. It has never been investigated before. As a matter of fact, of the varied forms of Texas German, only that spoken in New Braunfels has been studied at all.[6]

The modifications are due to the influence (1) of the Upper Saxon dialect (*Obersächsisch*), since the Wends and many others came from the Upper Saxon region of eastern Germany, (2) of English, and (3), to a lesser degree, of Wendish. Each of these factors has affected the vocabulary and the pronunciation. The extent to which the three influences have tended to produce the same result is remarkable. An example from the pronunciation is the fact that *w* is spoken as in English, rather than as in German. One would at first assume this to be an Anglicism, and indeed, the English influence must have encouraged this pronunciation; however, since this deviation is a characteristic of UpS,[7] it evidently was a part of the language before the emi-

grants left Germany. And furthermore, Wendish has a [w], but no [v], so it, too, must have aided the substitution. Similarly, many words and idioms which at first glance are taken to be Anglicisms are found to have roots extending back to Germany. Thus *schmoken* 'to smoke' is far removed from SG *rauchen*, but it may well stem from UpS *schmoochen* (SG *schmauchen*)[8] 'to smoke,' encouraged, of course, by the English word.

The English influence was exerted both directly and through the medium of other types of American German. Consequently many features could be characterized as "standard American German," e.g., the unrounding of *ö* and *ü*, and words like *gleichen* 'to like' and *Hochschule* 'high school.'

From the very beginning there have been strong purifying influences exerted by the ministers and teachers, who are well educated. The ministers preach in SG with a very good pronunciation. In the schools the children learned to read German and the association with the written word naturally tended to improve their German. Confirmation instruction also must have been a strong corrective influence, for the children had to memorize over 500 verses of Luther's Bible.

Subjected to such a variety of influences, it is not surprising that there are variations, both in pronunciation and vocabulary, from family to family and even from person to person. But the differences are so small as not to affect the overall picture of the language.

The pronunciation used deviates only relatively slightly from the present accepted SG. Probably the most noticeable features are those already mentioned: the unrounding of the umlauted vowels, as in [ʂe:n] for *schön* and [mi:dɛ] for *müde*, and the substitution of [w] for [v], e.g., *Wagen* [wa:gn̩], *gewesen* [gə'we:zn̩], *Qual* [kwa:l]. The latter substitution often carries over into English, so that one often hears words like *November* and *very*

pronounced [no'wɛmbər] and [wɛri]. As was mentioned, Upper Saxon, English, and Wendish all encouraged this feature. Similarly, all three lack the umlauted vowels *ö* and *ü*.

Strangely enough, the sound [v] can be heard in the words *Löwe* [le:vɛ], *Käfer* [kɛ:vər] and *river* [rɪvər], even in the case of speakers who otherwise use only [w] and who even have trouble with English *v*.

Long and short *i* are pronounced as in standard German, and are like long and short *ü*, because of the unrounding of the latter. Thus [bi:nɛ] means both 'bee' and 'stage,' and [fli:gn̩] means both 'to fly' and 'to plow.' I have noticed only one shortening of long *i* or *ü*—in the word *bügeln*, pronounced [bɪgl̩n].

Due to its unrounding, *ö* coincides with *e*, both long and short, e.g., [kɛnən] serves for *kennen* and *können*. Other examples of *ö* are *König* [ke:niç], *Söhne* [ze:nɛ], *bös* [be:s], *möchte* [mɛçtɛ], and *Töchter* [tɛçtər].

It is interesting to note that although the examples just cited show that some vowel distinctions (*ö* vs. *e* and *ü* vs. *i*) are lost when comparing this speech with SG, one distinction, that between long *ä* and *ē*, is generally upheld, while colloquial modern German has practically lost it. Thus *spät* and *Mädchen* are pronounced just as Siebs and Vietor would have us say them [ʃpɛ:t, mɛ:tçən], in contrast to the prevalent colloquial pronunciation [spe:t, me:tçən]. Other examples of [ɛ:] contrasting with [e:] are *gähnen* [gɛ:nən] as opposed to *gegen* [ge:gən], and *zähe* [tsɛ:ɛ] 'tough' as opposed to *Zehe* [tse:ɛ] 'toe.'

The clarity of the [ɛ:/e:]—situation is, however, disturbed by the fact that in many words they both tend to become shortened to [ɛ], e.g., *Leben* is often heard as [lɛbm̩], *gegeben* as [gə'gɛbm̩] and *später* as [ʃpɛtər]. The resultant similar pronunciation of *gegähnt* 'yawned' and *gegönnt* 'granted, given' as [gə'gɛnt] has given rise to a saying which is quoted when a cat yawns, *Die Katze hat*

gegähnt, was hat sie dich [i.e., *dir*] *gegönnt?* However, the [e:] which represents SG *ö* is never shortened to [ɛ] (cf. *König, Söhne, bös* above).

Unaccented *e* is pronounced as in SG, e.g., *lesen* [le:zən], *gegen* [ge:gən], except that when final it is [ɛ] or [e], as in *eine gute Lehre* [aɪnɛ gu:tɛ le:rɛ]. Final *er* is sometimes pronounced [a], so that *wärmer* resembles *wärma*, and *einer* resembles *eina*.

Strangely enough, the sound [æ], as in English *man*, which is not found in SG, occurs with some speakers, to my knowledge in only three words, *Mädel* [mæ(:)dl], *bläken* 'to bleat' [blæ(:)kn̩] and *bläkig* 'whining' [blæ(:)kɪç]. Other speakers use [ɛ(:)] in these words.

In certain combinations *ir* or *ür* are often heard as *ör*, e.g., *Gebirge* [gə'bœrgɛ], *Gehirn* [gə'hœrn], and *Knirps* [knœrps], but in most words the pronunciation is [ɪr], e.g., *wird* [wɪrt], *Bürste* [bɪrʃtɛ].

Long and short *o* and *u* are as in SG, e.g., *wohl* [wo:l], *voll* [fɔl], *Puter* [pu:tər], *Butter* [bʊtər]. There is no tendency to shorten long *o* or *u*.

Long and short *a* are as in SG, of the lower, "darker" variety (as opposed to the high *a* of North German). As with [e:] and [ɛ:], there is often a tendency to shorten long *a*, e.g., *gesagt* [gə'zaxt], *Wagen* [wa(:)gn̩].

The diphthongs are as in SG, e.g., *mein* [maɪn], *Haus* [haʊs], *Häuser* [hɔʏzər].

The glottal stop is not used except in less common words, and so one ordinarily hears: *erinnern* [ə'rɪnərn], *Verein* [fə'raɪn], *beobachten* [be'o:baxtən], etc.

The *r* is trilled with the tip of the tongue. In combination with other apical consonants the *r* often tends to become *d* or *t*, e.g., *fahren* and *Beeren* in rapid speech are often pronounced [fadn̩] and [bɛdn̩], and *Bart* may be pronounced [bat]. A striking proof of the latter is in the saying (which is intentionally

humorous): *Bist du satt? Putz dein Batt!* Part of the reason for *fadden* and *Batt* is the tendency to shorten long *a*. Final *r* is often not trilled and sounds much like the American *r*. In younger speakers there is a tendency to avoid the rolled *r* altogether, substituting the American *r* for it.

At the beginning of a word the *p* of the combination *pf* is regularly dropped, and in medial and final position the *f* is dropped by less careful speakers; thus Pferd is always [fɛrt], a homonym with *fährt*, *Pfütze* is [fɪtsɛ], etc., and *Topf*, *Töpfe* are frequently heard as [tɔp], [tɛpɛ].

The *ach-* and *ich*-sounds are distributed as in SG, except that the initial *ich*-sound, as in SG *China* [çi:na], does not occur, and this word is pronounced with a [k], as in the second-choice SG pronunciation. After consonants the *ich*-laut is pronounced farther back in the mouth than in SG (approaching [h]). After *n*, as in *manche*, the difference is very slight; after *r* it is more apparent, as in *Kirche*, *Kirchhof* [kɪrçhɔf]; after *l* it even becomes [h] with some speakers, as in *solche* [zɔlhɛ].

Final *ng* [ŋ] is pronounced [ŋk], e.g., *Klang* [klaŋk], *Ring* [rɪŋk].

The combination *rs* plus consonant is pronounced [rʂ], e.g., *erst* [ɛrʂt], *Wurst* [wʊrʂt], *wirst* [wɪrʂt], *Vers* [fɛrʂ]. Final *rse* is pronounced [rʒɛ], e.g., *Verse* 'verses' and *Ferse* 'heel,' both pronounced [fɛrʒɛ]. Otherwise *s* is pronounced in the standard way, e.g., *sein* [zaɪn], *weise* [waɪzɛ], *aus* [aʊs].

The pronunciation of *g* corresponds largely to the "North German *g*." Initially it is [g], e.g., *Geist* [gaɪst], *gegessen* [gə'gɛsən], *gackern* [gakərn]. Finally and before consonants it is pronounced as if written *ch*, e.g., *Tag* [ta(:)x], *sagt* [za(:)xt], *Berg* [bɛrç], *König* [ke:nɪç], *Weg* [we:ç], *weg* [wɛç]. Medial *g* before a vowel is pronounced [g], e.g., *Vogel* [fo:gl], *Vögel* [fe:gl], *Wege* [we:gɛ], except that the *g* of the suffix *ig* retains the *ich*-pronunciation with some speakers, e.g., *Könige* [ke:nɪçɛ], *ein sonniger Tag*

[aɪn zɔnɪçər ta(:)x]. Thus *g*, *ich*-sound, and *ach*-sound often alternate in the same paradigm, as in *fragen* [fra:gn̩], *gefragt* [gəfra(:)xt], *er frägt* [frɛçt], and *er frug* [fru:x]. Other interesting groups are: *Berg* [bɛrç], *Berge* [bɛrgɛ]; *Krieg* [kri:ç], *Kriege* [kri:gɛ]; *König* [ke:nɪç], *Könige* [ke:nɪgɛ] or [ke:nɪçɛ]; *Vogel* [fo:gl]; *Vögel* [fe:gl]; *legen* [le:gn̩], *er legt* [le:çt], imperative *leg* [le:ç] or *lege* [le:gɛ].

The sound [ʒ] occurs in the combination *rse*, as mentioned, and in a few words of French origin, as in SG, e.g., *Loge* [lo:ʒɛ] 'lodge,' *Courage* [ku:'ra:ʒɛ].

The other consonants are pronounced as in SG. In a few words one sometimes hears the UpS pronunciation *ē* for *ei*, e.g., *herummeestern* 'to piddle around,' *Eechkatze* (usually *Eichkatze*) 'squirrel'; the exchange of *d* and *r*, e.g. *treist* for *dreist* 'bold,' *Tocht* for *Docht* 'wick,' *dichtig* for *tüchtig* 'very (much), severely,' *Madratze* for *Matratze* 'mattress'; and *b* for *p*, e.g., *Blatz* for *Platz* 'place.'

As in colloquial SG, words are often syncopated to make for more rapid speech, e.g., *wohnen* becomes *wohn*, *verheiratet* becomes *verheirat*, *schadet* becomes *schatt*, *mehrere* becomes *mehre*. Often this is done unconsciously, the speaker intending to say the full form. Linking vowels are omitted whenever possible, as in *du arbeitst* (for *arbeitest*), *die hübschste* (for *hübscheste*), etc.

Passing now from pronunciation to vocabulary, it should be remarked that, while the number of English words used is large, still the German vocabulary of these people is astonishingly rich and colorful, and all the more to be admired when one remembers that the language of many of the homes fifty years ago was Wendish rather than German.

There are various categories of English words adopted; some, like *der Belt*,[9] *der Phone*, *der Store* [ʃto:r], *die Road* [ro:t], *die Yard* [jat], *die Car*, have been Germanized only to the extent of occasional modifications of pronunciation plus the assumption

of German gender. Surprisingly enough, the gender is quite stable, although the reason why a certain word has a certain gender may be hard to find. The English words adopted and the genders attached to them seem to agree to a great extent with those adopted by other German groups.[10] It is natural that such words as *die Roach, die Mosquito, der Airplane, plenty, sure,* and *all right* should have been taken up, but in other cases, e.g., *der Basket, der Belt, der Bucket,* etc., one wonders why the German word is not used. Although *der Korb* has been replaced by *der Basket,* the German idiomatic meaning of 'refusal' has survived, transferred to the English word, e.g., *sie hat ihn ein Basket gegeben,* 'she refused him.' Besides such "hybrid idioms," there are, of course, also "hybrid compounds," e.g., *das Butchermesser, der Pecanbaum, Zwei-bit* [tswaɪ-'bit] 'two bits.'

Other English words have been Germanized further, some to the extent that a German plural has been formed, as in *die Fencen* [fɪnsn̩], *die Boxen* [bɔksn̩]. English verbs can be so easily adapted to the German system that no English verb is used without the proper ending, even in such a completely English utterance as *er hat seine Mind gechangt.* While this phrase would ordinarily be rendered very correctly by *er hat sich's überlegt,* the Anglicized version is frequently heard and illustrates the flexibility of German and the ease with which the speaker can interpolate phrases which at the moment come to him in English. Some English loan-verbs which are integral parts of the everyday vocabulary are *drisseln* 'drizzle,' *mufen* 'move,' *schmoken* 'smoke,' *sich behaven* 'behave,' *ringen* 'ring,' and *resseln* 'wrestle.' Each loan-word has a history of its own, often connected with a German word no longer used in its original meaning. The last two words illustrate this; if *ringen* still meant 'wrestle,' it would hardly be used for the ringing of the telephone, but since *resseln* is used for 'wrestle,' *ringen* is freed to mean 'ring.' Some other interesting Germanized forms are *der*

Mutt [mʌt] 'mud' and *muttig* [mʌtɪç] 'muddy,' *der Paster* [pastər] 'pasture,' *die Quilte* [kwɪltɛ] 'quilt,' *der Botten* [bɔtn̩] 'bottom-land,' and *die Muschmelone* ['mʊʃmə,lo:nɛ] 'mush-melon' (the local English for 'muskmelon'). *Okra* is used ordinarily in the plural, which is impossible in English, as in *die Okris* [o:kriz] *sind reif*. Similarly cotton is felt to be plural, e.g., *die Kotten* [kɔtn̩] *sind schön geraten*, from which a singular, *die Kotte*, has been formed, meaning a single stalk or boll of cotton.

Other loan-words deserving special mention are *der Steak* [ʃte:k], because it means not 'steak' but 'ground meat,' and *die Galerie* ['galəri] 'porch,' because in both SG and English this meaning is obsolete. Even stranger is der *Sinkkopp* [sʃŋk-kʌp] with a German plural *Sinkköppe* [sʃŋk-kɛpɛ], meaning 'metal drinking cup'; perhaps it comes from 'sink-cup,' which is a compound I do not know in English.

A number of German words have assumed different meanings under the influence of English, e.g., *der Acker* 'acre,' *gleichen* 'to like,' *spenden* [ʃ-] 'to spend,' and *der Grad* 'grade.'

Many German words are pronounced or used differently from SG. A few examples are as follows: instead of *das Alter* 'age,' *die Älte* is used, (e.g., *er ist meine Älte* 'he is my age'); *jagen* is used in the sense of 'run, chase,' but never in the sense of 'hunt,' for which *jagden* [jaxtn̩] (from *die Jagd*] is used; *Patete* [pa'te:tɛ] means 'sweet potato' (SG *Batate*); *zeitlich* replaces *zeitig* and *früh* as 'early'; *klietschen* is used for *klatschen* 'slap'; *Fliegenklietsche* for *Fliegenklappe* 'flyswatter'; *Krippe* ('crib' in SG) for *Scheune* 'barn'; *verrankert* is used both for *verwachsen* 'overgrown with vines' (cf. *die Ranke*) and for 'disarranged' in the phrase *das Bett ist verrankert* 'the bed is messed up'; *Kuffer* is used for *Koffer* 'trunk'; *Gescheeche* for *Vogelscheuche* 'scarecrow'; *krimmen* for *jucken* 'itch'; *Kusenk* (pl. *Kusenke*) for *Vetter* 'cousin'; *der Rumplich* or *der Rumpricht* for *Knecht Ruprecht* 'Santa Claus'; *panschen* ('to adulterate' in SG) is 'to spill'; *nischt*

is 'nothing' (as opposed to *nicht* 'not'). Some odd verb forms are *därfen* [dɛrfn̩] for *dürfen* (*ich därf, du därfst*, etc.), *er frägt* [frɛçt] for *fragt, gewunken* for *gewinkt* 'waved,' *gebaden* for *gebadet, gebeten* for *gebetet* 'prayed.' For the past participle of *heissen* the same speaker will say *geheissen, gehiessen*, and sometimes even *gehissen*. Oddly enough, a present tense *geheissen* is sometimes used in the sense of 'command,' e.g., *ich geheisse ihn, das zu tun*.

Many of the odd words and forms can be traced to UpS dialect forms. Of those already mentioned, *zeitlich, klietschen, Kuffer, Gescheeche, krimmen, Kusenk, nischt, därfen, frägt*, and *gewunken* are regular UpS usage.[11] Others evidently derive from this dialect, but have developed a change in form or meaning, e.g., *panschen* 'to spill' undoubtedly stems from UpS *panschen*, although the latter apparently does not mean precisely 'to spill,' but rather 'to rain, get wet, splash'; and *verrankert* 'disarranged' is evidently a variation of UpS *eingerankert* and *zerrankert* of the same meaning.[12] Many more such UpS elements could be listed, e.g., *Aten* for *Atem*, *(ver-)bechten* 'to waste,' *dorte* for *dort, ermachen* for *schaffen* (*werden wir's ermachen?* 'werden wir es schaffen?'), etc.[13]

I have found only a few Wendish words used, and of these only two are essential elements of every speaker's vocabulary: *der Bobback* [bɔbak] 'boogie man,' and *der Braschka* [braʃka] 'Hochzeitsbitter, best man.' The Wendish forms are *bobak* and *braška*.[14] Some people frequently use the Wendish word *Piesack* instead of *Bleistift*;[15] others again use a word *Pesack* meaning 'Dummkopf.'[16] Besides *Piesack* and *Pesack*, the verb *piesacken* is used meaning 'to pester,' but this is a German word.

Sometimes, though only rarely, the plurals deviate from SG, e.g., *Näme* is almost always used instead of *Namen*, *Äpfel* competes with *Äpfel, Lehrers* and *Lehrern* with *Lehrer*, etc. The only odd gender I have noticed is *das Ast*, which is frequently used instead of *der Ast* (the plural is the standard *Äste*).

The most noticeable inflectional feature is the absence of the dative and genitive cases, for which the accusative serves. Thus only in the masculine singular do adjectives have an oblique case form, e.g., *mit den Mann, wegen unsern Vater.* Feminine, neuter, and plural forms have only one case, so we hear *mit seine Frau, ausser ein Kind, von die Kinder.* Similarly in the personal pronouns only the accusative is used: *mit mich, ich folge sie, ich gebe es ihn,* etc. As would be expected from this tendency towards caselessness, weak masculine nouns are usually unchanged in the singular, e.g., *mit den Junge, er hat bange von ein Hase.*

The genitive is replaced by such phrases as *mein Vater sein Geburtstag, unsere Eltern ihre goldne Hochzeit, mit Otto seine Frau, jemand sein Esel.* 'Whose' is *wems* [we:ms] or *wem sein,* e.g., *wems Hut ist das?* Genitive and dative forms are preserved in a few set phrases like *abends, morgens, am* (or *an*) *Freitag.* A dative pronoun may also be rarely used, as often as not in the wrong place, e.g., *er hat ihr geschlagen.*

The weak adjective ending in the plural is *e,* as in *die alte Leute,* except when the adjective is used as a noun, as in *die Alten, die Deutschen, die alte Deutschen.* In the neuter singular, *unsers, eures,* and *ihres* function as *der*-words, e.g., *nach unsers Haus, von eures letzte Schwein.*

Family names take the feminine ending *-in* when used with the feminine definite article, e.g., *die Zochin* means *Frau Zoch, die Mitschkin* means *Frau Mitschke.* The maiden name is indicated by the indefinite article and the suffix *-s,* e.g., *sie ist eine Herbrichs* 'she is a Herbrich (girl).'

In the verb conjugations several noteworthy deviations occur: in the present indicative of strong verbs which have a change in the second and third person singular, the change is also made in the second person plural by many speakers, e.g., *ich sehe, du siehst, er sieht, wir sehen, ihr sieht, sie sehen*; similarly *ihr wird,*

ihr nimmt, ihr fährt, etc. And whereas this vowel change occurs in SG in the *du*-imperative but not in the *ihr*-imperative, here the situation is usually reversed, so that the singular is *ess das* or *esse das, nehm(e) es, helf(e) mich*, and the plural is *isst das, nimmt es, hilft mich.*

With very few exceptions, the present perfect tense is used to the exclusion of the simple past. The pluperfect *war gewesen* is ordinarily used instead of *war*, as in *ich war das wohl gewesen* 'it was probably me.' This is evidently a combination of *ich war* and *ich bin gewesen.*

The polite form of address *Sie*, which is still very much alive, is used only as singular, the plural being *ihr*; thus to one non-familiar person *wie heissen Sie?*, to more than one *wie heisst ihr?*

The relative pronoun is basically *was*, e.g., *der Mann, was ich kenne.* The genitive is *wems*, e.g., *die Frau, wems Bruder ich kenne.* After prepositions the relative may be *was* or *die, das*, or *den*, e.g., *die Leute, mit die* (or *mit was*) *wir fahren.*

The verb *tun* is frequent as an auxiliary. In the present indicative simple statements such as *er fischt, sie arbeiten* are usually replaced by *er tut fischen, sie tun arbeiten.* In the imperative it is also often heard: *fängt immer an*, meaning 'go ahead and start,' may just as well be rendered *tut immer anfangen.* Also in the subjunctive *täte* competes with *würde*, so that one may say *wie würde das aussehen?* or *wie täte das aussehen?*

As is to be expected, the subjunctive is not used in indirect discourse; rather, the present perfect, present, or future indicative tenses denote previous, contemporary, or future action, resp., e.g., *er ist damals zu uns gekommen und hat gesagt, seine Frau ist krank*; and *er hat doch gesagt, er wird kommen* 'he said he would come.'

The passive is usually simplified to two forms: *wird* plus past participle for present or future action, and *ist* plus past participle for past action, e.g., *er wird nächste Woche beerdigt, er ist letzte*

Woche beerdigt. The latter type may be expanded with *geworden* (not *worden*, as in SG), e.g., *er ist letzte Woche beerdigt geworden.*

The definite and indefinite article is frequently omitted, e.g., *mit bissel Schmalz, mit paar Männer, auf Galerie* 'on the porch,' *in Küche* [ki:çɛ], *sie wollte Weile warten.* 'To town' and 'in town' are always rendered as *nach Stadt* and *in Stadt,* evidently encouraged by the English phrases. The omissions may represent simply a very understandable ellipsis, but one wonders if the lack in Wendish of definite and indefinite articles is not at least partially responsible.[17]

Practically all of these morphological and syntactical deviations from SG are found in Germany in what might be called "lower colloquial German." The most unusual are the use of *unsers, eures,* and *ihres* as *der*-words; the vowel change in the *ihr*-form of the indicative and imperative (*ihr nimmt; nimmt!*); and the omission of the article (*sie wollte Weile bleiben*).[18]

Comparison with the German of the New Braunfels area reveals primarily many vocabulary differences, e.g., the *prattschen knettschen, Flatsch,* etc., which Eikel lists (p. 38) are unknown in this area. Many English words adopted are similar, e.g., *der Botten, der Store, die Car, die Fence.*[19] The umlauted vowels are similarly unrounded, and the dative and genitive cases are lost here, too.[20] Some pronunciation differences are as follows: *w* is [v]; *rst* is usually [rst]; *g* is sometimes [γ] or [j], e.g., *Vogel,* [fo:γəl], *Vögel* [fe:jəl], *morgen* [mɔɪjən]; final *ng* is [ŋ]; [s] and [z] are often interchangeable, e.g., *Strasse* [ʃtra:sə] or [ʃtra:zə]; final *e* is [ə] or lost, e.g., *die Katz, die Füss.*[21] Besides differing in the three unusual syntactic and morphological features given above, the New Braunfelser frequently uses the type *das Kind war am Weinen* 'the child was crying,' which is unknown in the Lee-Fayette area (where this sentence could only mean 'the child was about to cry,' as in SG).[22]

In the foregoing an attempt has been made to give a general survey of Lee-Fayette German and to point out some of the many problems deserving further study. More exhaustive investigation of details may reveal that I have at times generalized in the wrong direction. Correction would, of course, be welcomed. In conclusion I would like to express my admiration for the fine German-American people of Lee and Fayette Counties and for the German they speak. Naturally, in order to describe their language, attention has been paid only to its differences from the best modern German usage, but these do not alter its basic character, whereby it is a remarkably good version of High German. To appreciate this fact, we should remember that similar agricultural areas in Germany frequently still use dialects which differ radically from High German.

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NOTES

1. Adapted from a paper presented on Nov. 2, 1956, before the German I section at the South-Central Modern Language Association's meeting in New Orleans. The remarks made here are based on personal observations gathered over the past thirteen years, principally from people of the Winchester-Serbin area. I am especially indebted to my wife, the former Adele Herbrich, a native of Winchester.
2. Rudolph L. Biesele, *The History of the German Settlements in Texas 1831–1861* (Austin, 1930), pp. 42 ff.; Moritz Tiling, *The History of the German Elements in Texas from 1820 to 1850* (Houston, 1913), pp. 9 ff.
3. For an excellent short sketch of the history, language, and literature of the Wends, see R. G. A. de Bray, *Guide to the Slavonic Languages* (London, 1951), pp. 673–789.
4. There are only two books which treat the Wends of Texas: a scholarly work by George C. Engerrand, *The So-called Wends of Germany and Their Colonies in Texas and Australia* (*University of Texas Bulletin No. 3417;* Austin, 1934), and a more popular one by Anne Blasig, *The Wends of Texas* (San Antonio, 1954). The numerous histories of the German element in Texas and America, such as Tiling and Biesele (mentioned above), ignore the Wends completely.
5. The *Volksblatt* was published in Wendish and German from 1899 to 1938, then only in German until its end in 1949 (according to a communication from the editor, Theo. Preusser); the *Zeitung* existed

from 1890 to 1926; cf. *Texas Newspapers 1813–1939* (mimeographed, San Jacinto Museum of History Assn.; Houston, 1941), pp. 94, 129.

6. Fred Eikel, Jr., *The New Braunfels German Dialect* (Diss. Johns Hopkins; Baltimore, 1954).
7. The following abbreviations will be used: UpS: Upper Saxon; SG: Standard German. The *w* of the West Lusatian dialect is characterized as a bilabial spirant without rounding in Helmut Protze, *Das Westlausitzische und Ostmeissnische* (*Mitteldeutsche Studien* XX; Halle, 1957), pp. 5, 33.
8. Cf. Karl Müller-Fraureuth, *Wörterbuch der obersächsischen und erzbebirgischen Mundarten* (2 vols.; Leipzig, 1911–14), under *schmauchen.*
9. The pronunciation of English words is as in the English of the area, unless noted.
10. For New Braunfels German, cf. Eikel, pp. 42f. The factors involved in the gender problem are discussed by Albert W. Aron, "The Gender of English Loan-Words in Colloquial American German," *Curme Volume of Linguistic Studies* (Baltimore, 1930), pp. 11–28. The latter is based on the usage of the Middle West, which seems to agree to some extent with that of the Lee-Fayette area, although it indicates a much greater infiltration of English. W. A. Willibrand, "English Loan Words in the Low German Dialect of Westphalia, Missouri," *Publications of the American Dialect Society* XXVII, 16–21, disputes Aron's theory of a "feminine tendency" and calls for further investigations. For Pennsylvania German, which differs as usual, cf. Paul Schach, "Semantic Borrowing in Pennsylvania German," *American Speech* XXVI, 257–267; C. E. Reed, "The Gender of English Loan Words in Pennsylvania German," *American Speech* XVII, 25–29.
11. Cf. Müller-Fraureuth, under *zeitlich, klitschen, Koffer, Scheuche, krimmen, Cousin, nichts, dürfen, fragen,* and *winken,* resp.
12. *Ibid.*, under *panschen* and *rankern,* resp.
13. *Ibid.*, under *Atem, bechten, dort, ermachen,* resp.
14. Cf. Filip Jakubaš, *Obersorbisch-deutsches Wörterbuch* (Bautzen, 1954).
15. Jakubaš lists *pisačk* 'Griffel, Schieferstift, Schreibstift.'
16. Possibly connected with Wendish *pisak* 'schlechter Schreiber, Vielschreiber' (Cf. Jakubaš).
17. Bogumił Šwela, *Grammatik der niedersorbischen Sprache* (2. Auflage; Bautzen, 1952), p. 103.
18. Even these are not unique; for the first two types cf. Grimm's dictionary under *unser, euer,* and *nehmen.* Trübner's dictionary notes modest omissions of the definite article (under *der*).
19. Eikel, p. 43.
20. *Ibid.*, pp. 28 f. and 48 ff. Evidently the dative and genitive cases and the umlauts are not quite as dead in New Braunfels as in this area.
21. *Ibid.*, pp. 26 ff.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 68.